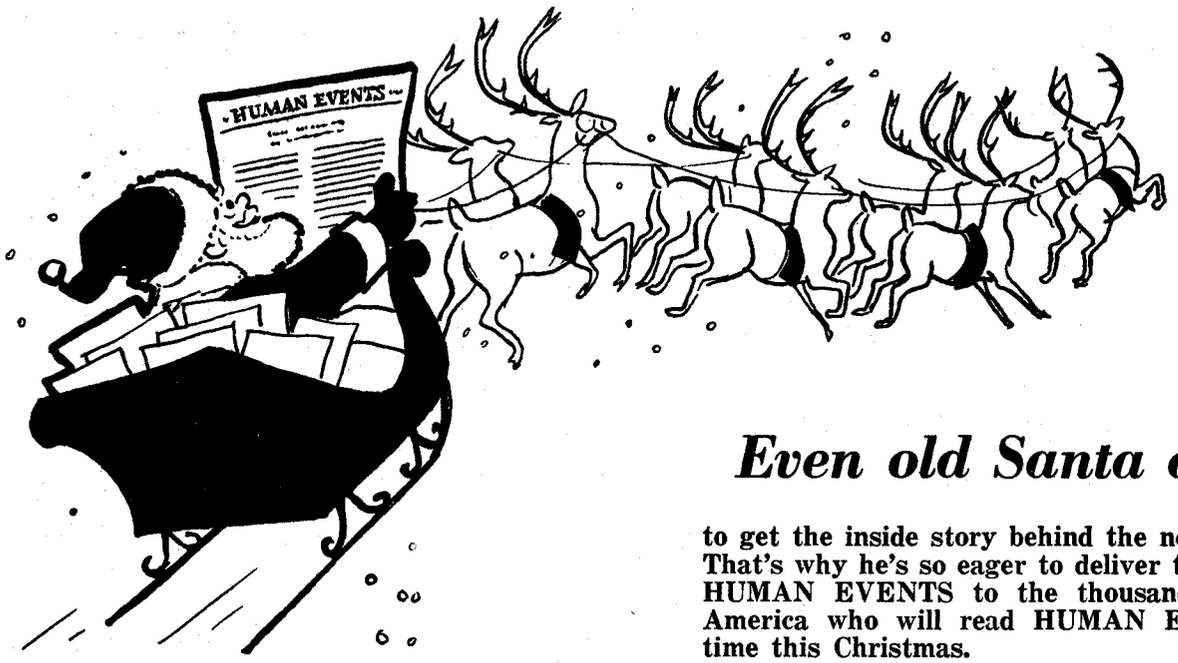

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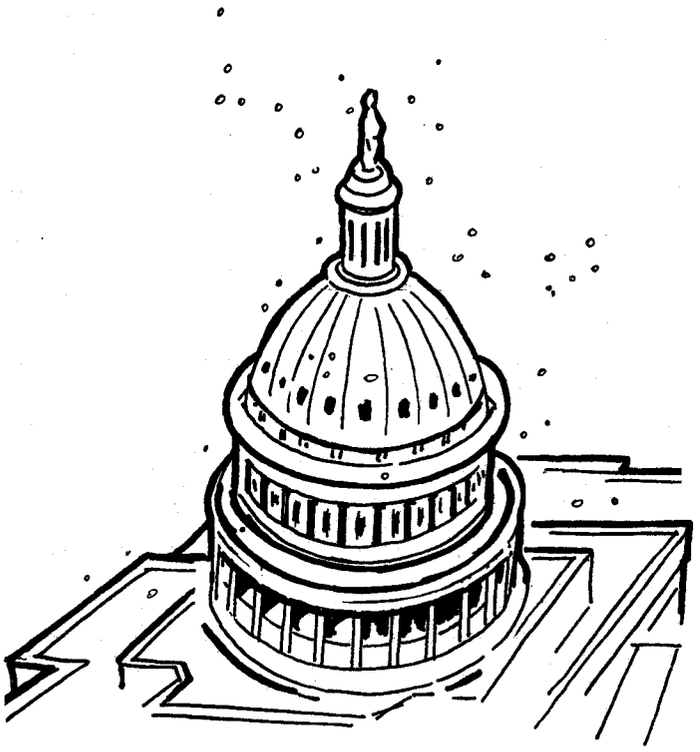

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Vol. No. XVII, No. 43 — Section IV HUMAN EVENTS October 27, 1960

Kennedy Wants to Retreat in the Far East

By ANTHONY TRAWICK BOUSCAREN
Associate Professor of Political Science, Le Moyne College

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SENATOR JOHN KENNEDY not only wants to express regrets to Khrushchev about our wholly justified defensive surveillance measures last May 1st, but he also wants to force our ally, Nationalist China, to give up the strategically and psychologically important islands of Quemoy and Matsu. His chief foreign policy adviser, Chester Bowles, is favorable to recognition of Red China, and fellow Democratic Senators William Fulbright and Wayne Morse think we should soften our stand against Red China because Red China's admission into the United Nations is "inevitable."

Neville Chamberlain thought it was inconceivable that Londoners might have to wear gas masks because of possible British commitments to Czechoslovakia in the 1938 crisis. Rather than stand firm with his ally against Hitler, Chamberlain retreated at Munich, in part because Czechoslovakia was "so far away." But this action, designed to "keep the peace," only served to weaken the Free World and make war more inevitable. Now Senator Kennedy and his associates seem to be advocating a similar policy, the same policy of concessions which had such a disastrous effect on the world at Yalta and Potsdam and the fall of China (notably the embargo on arms aid to Nationalist China). The Democrats seem to have had it in for Chiang Kai-shek and his beleaguered forces, ever since the failure of their "Let the Dust Settle" policy in China. No matter how many crimes the Chinese Communists commit (including the murder of 10,000 American prisoners of war in Korea) and no matter how much Chiang Kai-shek reforms, they seem to prefer doing business with Mao rather than with Chiang. The reason British Laborites are always touring Red China but almost never Free China is because they look upon Mao as a fellow liberal, albeit slightly to the left of the Labor party. The few British liberals who do visit Formosa, like Brian Crozier, of the *London Economist*, often change their minds when they see the contrast between slavery and relative freedom. Crozier is now a champion of Free China.

Just as Neville Chamberlain thought Czechoslovakia was too far away, so does Senator Kennedy believe the offshore islands are too far away. Indeed Kennedy has employed the ingenious argument of geographic proximity: Quemoy and Matsu are closer to Red China than to Nationalist China, therefore they should belong to Red China. But Hong Kong is even closer to Red China, and the Massachusetts Senator has never advocated giving Hong Kong to the Communists. Berlin is closer to Communist territory than it is to the Federal Republic of Germany; the employment of Kennedy's logic would give Berlin to the Communists (as recently hinted at by Kennedy adviser Adlai Stevenson). The British islands of Jersey and Guernsey are closer to France than Britain, therefore they should be given to France. Alaska is closer to Russia than to the continental United States, therefore it should be given up. British, French, and Dutch possessions in the West Indies would have to be parceled out among the Latin American states and the United States. Practically all offshore possessions throughout the world would have to change hands if we followed through on Kennedy's argument.

Senator Kennedy's knowledge of the geography of the Formosa Straits is limited. Recently he indicated that he did not know where the Pescadores were located, and then he described Quemoy and Matsu as "two rocks." Quemoy alone is seventy square miles in territorial extent, and there are 116,000 Free Chinese on the main island. In Nationalist hands, it blocks the Chinese Communist invasion port of Amoy. Matsu, also in Nationalist hands, makes it impossible for the Chinese Communists to use their port of Foochow. It is maddening and frustrating to the Communists that they cannot take these two island groups which lie between three and five miles off the coast. This gives the lie to their claim to be a great power. So long as the islands remain in Nationalist hands, Free China retains control of the Formosa Straits with the help of the 7th fleet, and Nationalist Chinese can gain invaluable intelligence information, and stage propaganda and hit and run raids from their vantage point on the offshore islands.

Both Quemoy and Matsu have been successfully defended in the past. In October, 1949, wave upon wave of Chinese Communist forces landed on the beaches of Quemoy only to be thrown back. In the fall of 1958 the Communists again attacked the offshore islands, but failed.

Yet Senator Kennedy would give them up to the enemy anyway. He invoked the names of Europe-first military men in support of this concession policy. Yet the fact is that the 7th Fleet today has the mission of helping our Chinese allies to defend Formosa and related and necessary offshore island bastions. During the 1958 attack on Quemoy and Matsu, Admiral Arleigh Burke publicly advocated that we help defend the island positions, and likened their status to that of Berlin. Quemoy and Matsu, he said, have the same psychological importance to Free Chinese that Berlin has to Free Germans. The islands and the city stand as symbols of resistance to aggression, and their fall to the Communists without a fight would be a severe setback to freedom everywhere.

Having forced our Nationalist allies to give up hard-earned positions on Quemoy and Matsu, where would Senator Kennedy then draw the line? Could it not then be plausibly argued that Formosa itself is hard to defend and far away from the United States? Laos might be next. Where would he stop? It is always easy to sell other people into slavery to save yourself. At least so it seems at the time. How does this square with Senator Kennedy's oft-repeated insistence of a policy of "firmness"? Giving away real estate to Khrushchev and expressing regrets do not look like firmness. They look like appeasement.

In 1940 certain armchair strategists were writing the British Isles off as indefensible; they said that it was "inevitable" that they would fall under Hitler's control.

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Now Senators Fulbright and Morse, who have always been favorable to the idea of abandoning Free China and recognizing Red China (see the notorious Conlon Associates Report issued by Fulbright's Foreign Relations Committee), have come right out to advocate a softer policy toward Communist China because "the trend is clear" and Red China will "inevitably" be admitted into the United Nations. Ingeniously, Senator Kennedy's fellow Democrats argue that the United States will be able to conciliate the Chinese Communists better when they are in the United Nations than when they are outside the organization. Has the Soviet Union been more conciliatory inside the United Nations than previously? Has the Soviet Union paid any attention whatsoever to numerous UN resolutions on aggression and repression in Korea, Tibet, and Hungary? Can Khrushchev's crude behavior at the UN in recent weeks be described as more conciliatory?

THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS, if given Quemoy and Matsu and if admitted into the UN, would be in a triumphant and defiant mood. Such Western concessions would be construed as signs of weakness, and the Chinese Communists, far from being satisfied, would be even more aggressive in their demands for Formosa, and border areas in south-east Asia and India. Recognition of Red China, its admission into the UN, and the Quemoy-Matsu concession could only serve the interests of the international Communist movement. It could not serve US interests in the Far East, nor the interest of the Chinese people. So long as the Government of Free China exists, commanding the support of eleven million people on Formosa, most of the eleven million overseas Chinese and untold millions on the mainland have an alternate regime to that of the Communists to which they can give their allegiance. During the Korean War, 70 per cent of the Chinese prisoners of war under the UN Command chose to go to Formosa rather than return to slavery on the mainland. Meantime thousands of Chinese escaped into Hong Kong, Macao, and into south-east Asia at every opportunity. During the month of May, 1960, five thousand Chinese escaped into Hong Kong seeking freedom. Yet Senators Fulbright, Morse, and Kennedy favor policies which would weaken the Free Chinese and strengthen the slave regime in Peking.

Senator Fulbright and his colleagues say that the recent 42-34 vote in the UN against Red China (with 22 abstentions) is a fatal setback for the Free World, and that the US can no longer "stand pat with a negative program of flat opposition" (to use the words of Senator Morse). Speaking about the future admission of Communist China, Senator Fulbright said, "I don't know how we can prevent it." But the Democratic Senators seem to be unduly pessimistic.

First of all they forget that according to Article 18 of the UN Charter, the General Assembly vote in support of new member states must be a two-thirds vote. The Soviet bloc and the neutralists, together, still cannot command 66 votes in the Assembly. Even in the unlikely event that all the 22 abstentions this year swung to the Communist side, and ten of the anti-Communist states changed over to that side, Red China could still be kept out of the UN. Henry Cabot Lodge reminded his appeasement-minded opponents recently that "as long as the United States is opposed to the admission of Communist China, Communist China cannot get into the United Nations." The answer, to Senator Fulbright's plaintive and defeatist "I don't know how we can prevent it," is the employment of the veto power, a power the United States has not yet employed, but which it is entitled to employ in its own interests if it should come to that. The Soviets have repeatedly used the veto to keep out anti-Communist states such as the Republic of Korea and the Federal Republic of Germany. They can hardly object to our use of the same weapon.

The Democrats' insistence of more concessions to the Communists in the Far East may well prove to be their undoing in the 1960 elections. For the first time, Senator Kennedy is on the defensive on the offshore island issue. He has tried to suggest that Vice President Nixon's stand in support of Free China's possessions is something new. But it is not. The Free World has successfully kept the islands over the years, and they remain today outside Communist control. To say that we won't defend them is to repeat Dean Acheson's folly in January, 1950, when he said in effect that the United States would not defend South Korea. This was an invitation to aggression. It is Senator Kennedy who wants to change existing policy. He wants to force our ally to give up something important which our ally has always had and which he has twice successfully defended. Senator Kennedy apparently would abandon the 200,000 people involved to Communist slavery, and in so doing, would jeopardize the position of the eleven million on Formosa and the Pescadores.

Too much has already been surrendered to the Communists. The Dulles policy of firmness was always criticized by the Democrats as "brinksmanship." But it was a policy the Communists respected and could not dent. The difference between the Republican and Democratic tickets this time is that Nixon and Lodge have the experience in dealing with communism which teaches them that appeasement leads to war, not to peace with justice. Kennedy and Johnson have yet to learn this lesson. The beginning of wisdom for Senator Kennedy would be for him to visit the islands and people he is going to give away, so that he will better know what is involved.

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Vol. XVII, No. 43 — Section V
October 27, 1960

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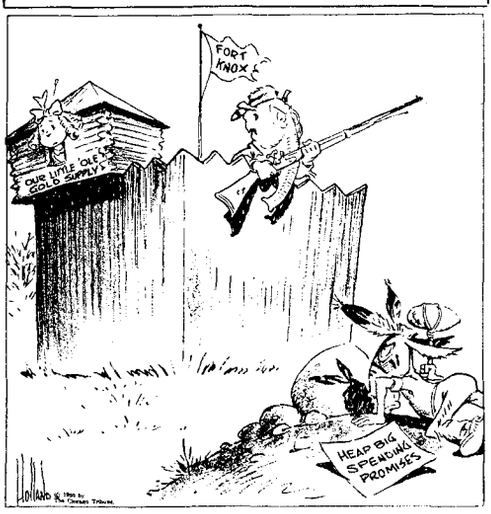
THAT'S NOT WHAT MADE THE COUNTRY STRONG, JACK

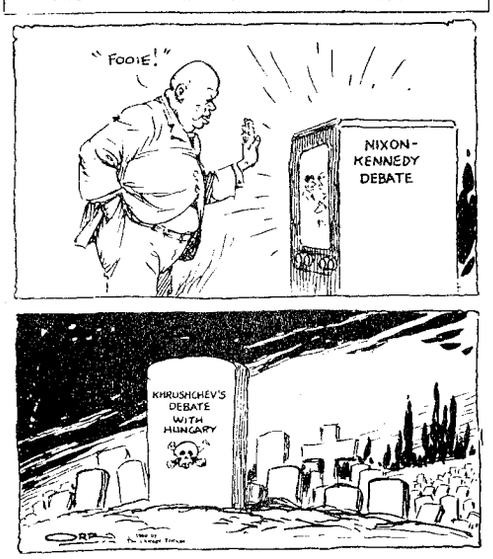
THE CHAMPION SHADOW BOXER

PRETTY FANCY FOOTWORK THERE— D'YUH THINK HE'LL EVER WIN A FIGHT?
SENATORIAL ACCOMPLISHMENTS
SEN. DOUGLAS
ELECTIONEERING CLAIMS

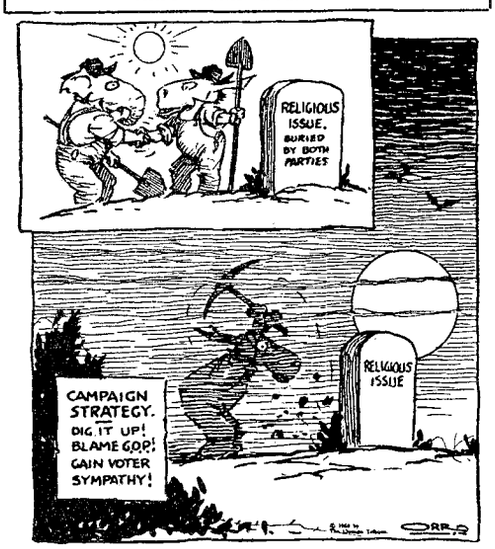
SCALPING PARTY ON THE PROWL



THE DEBATE—AMERICAN STYLE AND RUSSIAN



DIRTY WORK AFTER DARK



THE OFFSPRING—TWO SETS OF TRIPLETS

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Human Events
THE WASHINGTON NEWSLETTER

Vol. XVII, No. 43 October 27, 1960 Section I — News

GOP: *Fight—or die politically* .....(513)
GOLD: *Crisis if Kennedy wins* .....(513)
NIXON: *Scores well but must punch harder* (513)
PENNSY: *The Poles gallop to Jack* .....(515)
QUEMOY: *Kennedy deals in switchmanship* (515)

Bad News for GOP: From all quarters reports of a rising Kennedy tide plunge many Republicans into gloom. Below, HUMAN EVENTS offers news stories far from encouraging to Nixon hopes: (1) how former pro-Ike voters are shifting to Kennedy in the key state of Pennsylvania; (2) failure of conservative businessmen to offset Reuther's COPE; (3) boo-boos of the Nixon campaign operation.

Significant was a sharp, warning editorial in the Scripps-Howard newspaper chain (supporting Nixon) last week saying, in essence, "Nixon is running like a dry creek." That chain used those words in a similar warning to Ike in August, 1952, before Ike waked up and mounted a hard-fighting campaign to win. Whether Nixon can stage a comeback at this late date is a matter of dispute in the Capital. It should be said that Democrats, while growing very confident, fear that some foreign imbroglio—would it be Cuba?—might turn the odds suddenly to Nixon's favor. Other Democrats hope it might react against Nixon.

However that may be, the Scripps editorial warning commands attention: "People who don't want Walter Reuther carrying a side door key to the White House the next four years better stir their stumps."

Business in Politics: Unless business executives suddenly get down to "business in earnest" on the political front in the next few weeks, they may have to confess a course of shirking this necessary job on a sorrowful "morning after" November 8. While Big Labor is straining every fiber to win a "liberal"-labor election victory for Kennedy, management's much-publicized "business in politics" efforts seem to be "sputtering."

For the last 20 months, the US Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers have been operating courses in political action and more than 100,000 have reportedly taken them. Nevertheless, it is widely reported that relatively few of those who have taken the courses are out beating the bushes for their favorite candidates. One GOP member of Congress complained, "Businessmen don't want to get involved in partisan politics. They'll write a check—but that's all." In his district, less than half of those who completed the C of C course are willing to do any work at all in real politics. "About half of the remainder drop out when they find you want them to do something more than pass out a few handbills."

By contrast, union officers are taking time off from their jobs to do party work—for Kennedy. Union cars with union-paid drivers will be available to take voters to the polls on election day. Union newspapers are all out for Kennedy and other "liberal" candidates. (How many corporation house organs or trade papers are doing that much?)

In Washington, it is said: it is up to the heads of the NAM, the C of C and many trade and business organizations to appeal to American business to throw this fatal timidity to the winds and politick intensively between now and November 8.

Kennedy Weakens the Dollar: Last week the price of gold on the London market sky-rocketed from around $35 an ounce to over $40 an ounce. The *Wall Street Journal* reported that this jump "reflects doubts as to the soundness of the dollar."

Washington monetary experts put it less mildly. One expert told HUMAN EVENTS that this sharp gold rise means that Europeans are worried about the soundness of the dollar because they think there's a possibility that Kennedy will be elected. Should Kennedy capture the White House, says our informant, he would unbalance the budget and return to deficit financing, with marked inflationary effects. This, in turn, would lead to further outflow of gold from the US and he would have to raise the official US rate of purchase of gold, thereby devaluing the dollar. The consequences of this would be rapid, if not galloping, inflation of prices.

Indeed, says this expert, this process could start between November 9, if Kennedy wins, and his inauguration on January 20, 1961. In short, all financial hell can break loose in expectation of an inflationary Kennedy regime.

When the Enemy Squeals: Downhearted Nixon supporters can at least fire up happily about several quite visible symptoms in the Kennedy camp.

(1) Kennedy obviously fears the effect of Nixon's strong stand on Quemoy and Matsu and wanted to sweep the whole argument under the rug as quickly as possible. The Senator's publicity battalions

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worked hard to picture the controversy as "unfortunate" and one that "should be dropped *by both sides.*" Herb Klein, Nixon's press chief, laughed with satisfaction at that "both sides." And although a few newspapers fell for the Kennedy maneuver, Nixon stuck to his guns and continued his barrage on the question. It is remarked, however, that his attack could have been even more effective, if the White House had more quickly and definitely come to his defense with Ike's statement backing up the VP.

(2) *Within 24 hours last week, two Democratic wheel horses came out denouncing Nixon's "demagoguery." Both Adlai Stevenson and Democratic Party Chairman Jackson plaintively awarded Nixon what amounts to an accolade, as the fighting GOP pros see it. The pros are battling hard to eliminate the influence which apparently some of the "liberal" claque of journalists exert on Nixon, always warning him against "demagoguery" and revival of the "old Nixon" image.*

(3) Nixon is given "good" marks by the pros for continuing to needle Kennedy on the latter's appeasement position concerning the off-shore islands of Quemoy and Matsu. However, advisers urge that he ram home the obvious conclusion: namely, that Kennedy has shown a definite and dangerous "appeasement policy" (and use those words) by (a) his urging Ike to apologize to Khrushchev on the U-2 incident; and (b) his course of outright appeasement on Quemoy and Matsu. In short, Kennedy has surrendered to the Adlai Stevenson wing of the Democratic party and his stands suggest strongly that Adlai will become Secretary of State. If Nixon rams home these points, pros predict the squeals from the Kennedy camp will amply confirm the soundness of the strategy.

But, the pros emphasize, Nixon has to "ram it home" with brutal candor, or he will continue to "run like a dry creek." Kyle Palmer of the Los Angeles *Times* (the journalist who made Nixon in 1946) last week wrote: "The Dewey campaign in 1948 was lost because it was too negative. The Nixon campaign in 1960 is lagging because it is too tepid. And if the Republican nominee is defeated this year, he will, in retrospect, face the dreary fact that he didn't swing hard enough and often enough."

GOP Mistake: Senator Kennedy made valuable political hay at the recent American Polish Congress convention in Chicago, where Ike spoke only briefly at an early hour and Nixon failed to appear. Kennedy promised his listeners that, if elected, he would help reunite families, alleviate food shortages in Poland and do all he could for the people of that Red-dominated land.

Surprisingly, the Republicans failed to counter with the fact that most of what Kennedy proposed has been carried out for three years by Ike's Administration. Kennedy's remarks got wide circulation in Polish communities of Illinois, Indiana, Pennsylvania and Michigan—key election states.

Truth Squad: Early in the campaign Jack Kennedy stated that "17 million Americans go to bed hungry every night."

But now an excerpt from a publication of the Center of Agricultural and Economic Adjustment (Iowa State University) comes to light which ought to make the Senator swallow his charges. It reads: "Fewer than one household in every 10 in the United States provide family members diets critically lacking in one or more nutrients. Hungry people are so rare that they are difficult to pick up in even a large scale survey. If anything, the average American is overfed."

This is a quote from Professor Willard Cochrane. Who is Professor Willard Cochrane? He's Jack Kennedy's chief farm policy adviser!

Religious Issue: Congressman William E. Miller (R.-N.Y.), a Roman Catholic, charged last week that Kennedy's campaign managers are deliberately "keeping the religious issue alive and inflamed" to win Catholic votes. One of the most prominent GOP members of the House, and a Notre Dame graduate, Miller exclaimed: "I speak as a Catholic and out of a sense of outrage."

Accusing the Kennedy GHQ of practicing "bigotry in reverse," Miller added: "I believe that the intelligence and patriotism of Catholic voters is insulted and damaged by assertions that they are gullible enough to vote for a candidate for high office merely because he is a fellow Catholic."

Miller charged that the Democrats are exhibiting in Northern areas a film of Kennedy attacking bigotry against himself, and the effect of this, said Miller, is not to answer anti-Catholic bigotry in the South, but to "inflame resentment among Catholics" in the North.

The Catholic Congressman also emphasized that the Kennedy camp has been "trying to win votes . . . with the religious issue" since 1956, circulating a memo to Democratic conventions in '56 and '60 which "argued with cold statistics that Kennedy on the ticket would recover the Catholic vote and win the big states of the North."

Adlaimaniacs for Jack: Last week in an unprecedented move the super leftist New York *Post* took out a five-column ad in the New York *Times* to announce its formal endorsement of Senator Kennedy's candidacy. Heretofore the *Post*, like other papers, had confined such endorsements to its editorial page.

Signed by publisher Dorothy Schiff and editor James Wechsler, the *Post* lauded Kennedy for opposing the "pointless and dangerous" Nixon stand on the offshore islands. After a few lines of Nixon hating, the *Post* appealed: "We urge those nostalgic for Adlai Stevenson to recognize that it is only in a Kennedy Administration that the talents of men such as Stevenson can be used."

Then the big crusher to scare all "liberals" into active support for Jack: "A decisive Kennedy

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victory would almost certainly expand the Democratic liberal bloc in both Senate and House. A decisive Nixon victory would almost certainly expand the right-wing Goldwater faction . . . the new faces in the Republican Congressional crowd still tend to be Goldwater Republicans."

Capitol Camera: Liberal columnist Doris Fleeson attacks Vice President Nixon's stand on the House Rules Committee, which she calls "the graveyard of broad social and economic measures." Nixon is opposed to any bill cutting the power of the committee or its venerable chairman, Howard Smith of Virginia.

• *Arthur Krock, conservative political columnist for the New York* Times, *attacks the notion that there are no party differences, writes: ". . . if the Republican and Democratic platforms . . . and the commitments of each candidate to his own, are not dismissed as rhetorical frauds . . . Kennedy and Nixon are pledged to pursue flatly conflicting political philosophies . . . ."*

• John Hvasta, American of Slovak origin, who escaped the infamous Leopoldov prison in 1952 after serving three years on trumped up spy charges made by the Reds when they took over Czechoslovakia in 1948, has produced a devastating anti-Communist film, "Fighters for Freedom"—Nixon and Lodge. The half-hour 16mm production is available for free showings from the Nationalities Division, GOP National Committee, Washington.

• *Although Senator Kennedy continually attemps to score the Administration for its "lack of leadership" and "lack of economic growth," the record shows him to be one of Congress' most incorrigible hookey players when it comes to dealing with "growth" questions. Kennedy is a member of the Joint Economic Committee but has not attended a single committee meeting since March* 20, 1959. *Five meetings of the Subcommittee on Automation and Energy Resources were held in October,* 1959—*all without the benefit of committee member Kennedy's presence. The Joint Economic Committee met six times in February of this year to consider the President's economic report, but Kennedy was absent every time.*

A Poll in Pennsylvania: With the possibility that any key state could spell victory in the nip-and-tuck Presidential race, HUMAN EVENTS last week sent reporters to the overwhelmingly Slavic-Catholic mining area of Wilkes Barre-Scranton, Pennsylvania, in an effort to determine how Catholic ethnic groups in that all-important section will go. With the Democrats running up big registration leads in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh and the GOP counting on heavy turnouts in small town and farming areas, the semi-depressed mining sections may hold the key to the Keystone State.

What HUMAN EVENTS found does not bode well for the GOP in the area, with economic and religious factors overriding all others. Of 94 Slavic-Catholic voters polled (58 Democrats and 36 Republicans), 67 said they would vote for Kennedy, 16 for Nixon and 11 undecided. Of the 36 Republicans, 15 said they would vote for Nixon, 13 for Kennedy and eight undecided. Of the 58 Democrats, only one preferred Nixon, saying the Vice President would be tougher on the Russians.

Among the Democrats, 16 voted for Ike in 1956 and nine didn't vote for President—a total of 25 out of 58 who hadn't supported Stevenson.

At the Ukrainian Literary Society in Wilkes Barre, four of six voters polled were Republicans, but three of the four were voting for Kennedy with the fourth undecided. At St. Stanislaus, a Polish Catholic Church in Scranton, 20 registered voters interviewed after mass showed 19 Democrats—18 for Kennedy and one undecided—and one undecided Republican. The economic issue was singled out by most of these. A reaction typical of many women voters in the area came from a middle-aged lady (a registered Democrat) about to enter St. Stanislaus. When asked about her '56 vote, she stated in an incredulous tone: "Why Eisenhower, of course." When asked about her choice this year she said with equal emphasis: "Why Kennedy, of course."

An articulate Polish-American in his mid-30's said of the Kennedy trend: "Do you see those hills of hard coal down there? This is hard coal country, and there's no demand for hard coal now and that means trouble for this region."

Four Welshmen (there are many Welsh in the area) were Republicans and for Nixon to a man. One said: "No matter what these people [the Slavic-Catholics] tell you, they're voting religion in this issue. We live with them and we know."

Kennedy on Quemoy: Senator Jack Kennedy, sensing that the tide of political opinion is running against him on the issue, wants to shut off all debate on the Quemoy-Matsu question. He claims that since 1955 he has always supported the Eisenhower Administration's position on the two islands.

The record indicates this is completely untrue. On July 28, 1955, he announced himself in favor of an amendment proposed by Senators Lehman and Morse and opposed by the Administration to limit the authority of the President to the defense of Formosa and the Pescadores Islands. The purpose of this amendment was to prevent American assistance in the event of an attack upon the islands of Quemoy and Matsu.

In his book, *The Strategy of Peace,* published earlier this year, Kennedy discussed Administration policy in regard to these islands and declared: "I do not think there is greater folly than to leave our commitment in that area as vague as the Secretary of State has left it."

THE HONORABLE JOHN L. McCLELLAN, Senator from Arkansas: "Many of the issues of HUMAN EVENTS that I have received contained articles and statements of fact that were most interesting and quite informative. It definitely serves an objective purpose and I regard it as essential and profitable reading."

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In Tulsa, Oklahoma, on September 16, 1959, he bragged, "I might mention in this regard, in making my present position clear, that I was one of 14 Senators in 1955 who supported an amendment to the congressional resolution sought by the President —an amendment which would have specifically excluded Quemoy and Matsu from its jurisdiction."

Kennedy has taken three different positions in the course of the past two weeks on the matter of policy in the Formosan Straits. In the second debate with Vice President Nixon, he said that our defense line "should be drawn in the sea around the island [of Formosa] itself." This would exclude the Pescadores from our defense area.

He then redrew the line, in his third TV debate, so as to place the Pescadores within the area we would defend. He was consistent, however, in his desire to turn Quemoy and Matsu over to the Reds. They are, he said, "indefensible" and "are not . . . essential to the defense of Formosa."

He now states that he agrees with the Administration policy on the islands. He states also that he voted for the Formosan Defense Treaty. The Congressional Record shows that he was paired against the treaty.

Bigotry on Both Sides: Extremists, both on the Right and Left, are now pouring salt into the open wound of the "religious issue." On the one hand, Kennedy supporters are justifiably aroused because fanatical Protestant anti-Catholic elements plan to turn Reformation Sunday into a gigantic anti-Catholic rally, with the intention of defeating Kennedy.

On the other hand, the socialistic Walter Reuther has invented a sort of reverse bigotry, implying that a vote against Kennedy is a vote for bigotry. President Eisenhower denounced the publication by the United Auto Workers (Reuther's union) of a drawing showing a figure of the Statue of Liberty and a hooded figure of the Ku Klux Klan; underneath is the caption: "Which do you choose, Liberty or bigotry?" The storm of protest raised by Ike led to the withdrawal of the offensive UAW publication (incidentally, financed out of the union's general fund).

Meanwhile, union leaders carry on in the spirit of the repudiated publication. They have trained an army of precinct canvassers who call at Catholic homes, talk about the candidates, then casually drop this question: "Do you think they are going to keep Kennedy out of the White House just because he's a Catholic?" "It's sure fire," report the union propagandists.

Warning to Conservatives: Conservative Republican members of Congress are worried about the anti-Nixon sentiments of some conservative constituents who profess to welcome a GOP defeat in a belief that such is the necessary prelude to renaissance of a "real conservative party" in '64. "They don't seem to realize how dangerously thin our ranks are now, nor how necessary a victory for the head of the ticket is to victory for the rest of the ticket," said a Taft-type legislator.

Conservative members of Congress up for re-election pin almost desperate hopes on Nixon's success. One remarked: "I can't tell my party people to work for only me, not for Nixon—as some right-wingers suggest. A lot of voters remain strong for Nixon; they'd retaliate and cut my throat."

The relationship between the fate of a member of Congress and the head of his ticket can't be overemphasized. Voters tend to vote "all the way down" on a ticket. Thus, a sweep by Nixon would likely knock off many Democratic "liberals," might bring in 50 or 60 new GOP seats. Contrariwise, a Kennedy sweep might kill many GOP conservatives.

A Kennedy sweep might put in more Democratic state administrations. Then the "liberal" Democrats in the states would run the apportionment of congressional seats which is made every ten years. By gerrymandering, Republicans would lose many seats; no change could be made for another ten years. In 1950, many state administrations were GOP and they did the redistricting in 1951. But, in 1958, many state capitols went Democratic. This year is the last chance until 1970 before another fair shake in reapportionment is possible. The GOP ticket must win state capitols this year.

Those who do not realize conservative weakness and such perils as mentioned above sometimes draw a false parallel with the period 1949-52, when a tide swept out the Democrats. But then the conservatives were numerous. In the 81st Congress (1948-50) the score was 54 Democrats, 42 GOP; in the 82nd (1950-52)—49 Democrats, 47 GOP. By contrast in the past session (1958-60), it was 66 Democrats, 34 GOP. A dangerously thin line of conservatism.

Additionally, Kennedy has vowed to emasculate the conservative Southern Democratic chairmen of committees, including Congressman Howard Smith (Va.) who has long blocked radical bills as head of the Rules Committee. In any case, only about half of the Southern Democrats are conservative. The ultra-"liberal" elements in the South would gain immensely from a Kennedy victory. The Old Coalition is in mortal danger.

Finally, anyone on Capitol Hill watches the Supreme Court and its changes. Two New Deal Justices are of the age to retire ere long. Conservatism in the Court has made some advances in recent years; more would be made presumably from Nixon appointments to the Nine. But all such hopes would fade if Kennedy, guided by labor and "liberals," were elected; again for another generation the Supreme Court would be New Deal.

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Big City Betrayal Bloc

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32 Democratic Congressmen, Mostly Representing Big City Slum Districts, Vote for Higher Food Prices and Higher Taxes

(The names of the 32 Congressmen and their High Support voting records are given on the back page. The seven bills forming the basis for this report are described there.)

By JAMES L. WICK, EDNA LONIGAN AND SVEND PETERSEN

WILL YOU PLEASE take a good look at your last year's income tax return? How much did you pay altogether in income taxes? Or, more likely, how much did your employer take out of your pay check without your being allowed to see it or touch it?

Well, nine per cent of what you paid in income taxes was spent for what is called aid to farmers. The impartial Tax Foundation is authority for the statement that nine per cent of all income tax collections go to the government's farm support programs.

Now you have probably taken for granted that the votes in Congress for funds for farm aid come from Members representing farm districts. But you are dead wrong.

Congressmen from the Democratic farming South generally vote for government price supports on farm products. But the Republicans from Northern farm areas, with a few exceptions, vote against farm price supports. The deciding votes needed to keep renewing these great expenditures year after year come from Democratic Congressmen representing the big cities.

If you think there is something about the votes of these Congressmen that smells to high Heaven, how right you are!

One can understand how a Congressman from a wheat-growing state would vote in favor of subsidy payments for wheat. His constituents would get some benefit at least for the short run. But why should Congressmen from the large cities vote to spend nine per cent of the income tax of their constituents for government programs which raise the price of bread and milk and cotton goods?

These big city Congressmen—Democrats from New York City, Boston, Pittsburgh, Chicago and Los Angeles—are betraying their constituents. Without the big city vote, the farm spending orgy would have been ended long ago. Farmers would be operating again as free and private enterprisers without government controls. The nine per cent cut now taken from farm and city income-tax payers could be used by them for their own families. The government would be out of the farming business, with no heaps of "surplus" farm products to give away. The reduced cost of government would benefit all Americans.

Why should the Congressmen from the great American cities vote to betray their own people? Why should they saddle this vast, useless boondoggle on the whole American people year after year?

We have to go back a little, to define what we mean by farm spending programs. "Farm aid" sounds reasonable at first. Farmers would say, "If everything I buy is going to be subsidized, then I have to take a subsidy too." City people would say, "If we vote for government price-fixing and benefits to others, we must be fair, and give the farmers the help they need." But that sort of talk would not be good enough to keep up the spending of billions year after year, while the rotting surpluses rise higher and higher. Why do so many farmers today vote against "farm aid"? Why must city Congressmen be forced into line to provide enough votes to keep this spending in high for something the farmers do not want?

Under "farm aid" Congress votes financial support through loans and otherwise to support the prices of certain crops—chiefly wheat, cotton, corn, tobacco, peanuts and rice. The fixed price is set at a certain percentage of "parity."

There never was a shred of justification for "parity." It is not even clear why the idea was acceptable in the midst of the depression hardships. Many of the ablest farm economists were against it. It is a greater mystery how it could have been kept going at a cost of many billions for 25 years. This is where we come again to the mystery of the city Congressmen who keep a program going which is against the real self-interest of their constituents as well as of the supposed beneficiaries.

IN THE LAST FEW YEARS the Republicans under Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson have been trying to lower the level of government interference, and let farmers operate more nearly in a free market. The Democrats have been trying to raise the prices the government must support and therefore to increase the government's authority to tell farmers what they can plant and sell. HR 7246 set government support of wheat prices at 90 per cent of "parity" and, in return, farmers were to be compelled to cut wheat acreage 25 per cent.

In general, Republican Congressmen voted *against* high farm support prices. This includes Republicans from farming districts. GOP votes came from states where wheat is the all-important crop; also from corn-hog areas west of the Mississippi. But all Republicans representing suburban and urban areas, and virtually all Republicans representing farm areas

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east of the Mississippi and north of the Mason-Dixon line (plus the Republican Congressmen from California) voted against raising the government's support price. So did Republicans from districts in the South.

The vast majority of American farmers are now opposed to the farm program. The American Farm Bureau Federation, which represents 1,600,000 farmers, vigorously opposes the high support bills. It says these bills cost the farmer $2 billion in the long run for every $1 billion they get as an apparently free gift from the Treasury.

The position of the Farm Bureau is expressed in the August issue of its official journal, *Nation's Agriculture*. The NFBF says:

> "As President Shuman told the platform writers [at both political conventions] it is morally wrong to delude farmers into thinking their best long-time interests lie in policies that promise bigger government farm program benefits—especially when such a promise is combined with other policies that inevitably would increase dramatically the cost of things farmers buy, and at the same time jeopardize the future of the private competitive enterprise system by feeding the fires of inflation."

For one thing, 75 per cent of the output of American farms is not subsidized. Producers of live-stock, poultry, dairy, canning products and market gardening, have pretty well had to get along without government crutches. The huge Federal expenditure is channeled to a few groups of farmers in key states. In fact many farmers have to buy the price-supported corn and feed grains, and sell their products to consumers who are paying nine per cent of their income tax to benefit a few groups of farmers.

Farmers know the program has not worked to cure the economic difficulties of American farmers. They see the evidence of economic error in the ever-mounting piles of so-called surplus farm products, wherever subsidies are involved. The crops which are "helped" by government are still in trouble. Those which were in the free market are not in trouble.

The Farm Bureau expresses the opinions of the economic needs of farmers who wish to remain free. The same good judgment is reflected in the amazing vote against high price supports in most Republican farm areas.

New York State is one of the largest farm-producing states in the country. It has more farmers and a higher value of farm output than many "farm states." In New York State, 24 Republican Congressmen, mostly from the farm areas, voted against HR 7246, for higher wheat support prices. Eight Democrats also voted against high supports. But ten Congressmen from New York City and Albany voted "Yes" to increasing the burdens on their constituents in higher taxes and higher cost of living.

From Pennsylvania several Philadelphia and both Pittsburgh Representatives voted for high farm supports. Republican Representatives of the farming areas voted "No." Indiana Democratic Congressman Madden from the industrial area near Chicago voted for higher farm (and food) prices. The Republicans from farm areas voted the other way.

Detroit Congressmen cast their votes for higher farm (and food) prices, while the Republican members representing the farming areas voted against the government's bringing gifts.

In Wisconsin the two members from Milwaukee, both Democrats, voted for farm payments by government. Wisconsin Republican Congressmen on balance voted "No."

In California, the five Democratic Congressmen from that pastoral rural area, Los Angeles, voted for payments to the farmers. The Republican Congressmen from California, inside and outside the Big Cities, voted against them.

We don't say city votes alone put through the farm spending bills. We say farm votes alone could not have done it. The city Congressmen provided the marginal votes necessary to keep these indefensible programs going. In doing so, they betrayed their constituents.

Whom did they serve?

The answer is the same familiar answer—pressure group politics.

The city parties are controlled not by the city voters but by mass organizations like AFL-CIO and its political arm, COPE. When COPE and its allies are at work in a district, they have their well-trained, disciplined voters who always register, who always vote, who always know which candidates to vote for. The other voters are not organized to come to the polls like a disciplined army and make sure their candidate is re-elected every time. Some are indifferent. Some are ignorant. Some are discouraged because they tried once or twice to help in campaigns and could not see any results. That is what the pressure group counts on. They know, like the old-fashioned local political machine of years gone by, that a well-disciplined few will always win out against the unorganized, undisciplined many. But today we are not dealing with local political machines that local voters can rise up against if they are angry enough. We are dealing with nationwide political machines which can come into a district, bring in funds and organizers, and tell their local members how to vote or else.

The key vote for maintenance of our so-called farm aid programs is provided by the Congressmen from big industrial areas who vote in obedience to the nationwide policies of the mass pressure groups.

WHY DO THE MASS PRESSURE GROUPS want to continue farm aid? They want it because it increases Federalization, centralization and collectivization of American life. Their planned collectivization can only be seen by watching how city Congressmen vote on issues like farm supports.

Curious confirmation of this tie-up appears in the fact that a substantial part of the vote for farm supports from Northern farm Congressmen comes from districts where the influence of the Farmers Union is strong. Like the AFL-CIO, the Farmers Union has a "captive" membership. The Farmers Union in many areas has a monopoly of "cooperative" facilities for production, marketing and storage. Its "members" join only to use the facilities.

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But their income is then tied to the Farmers Union which can take its cut on all services by a check-off system like that of the labor unions. The Farmers Union subsidiaries are often large beneficiaries of farm benefit payments from the Federal government. With these funds they build a strong political organization in the northern farm states, which is committed to the familiar program of the left-wing organizations in labor, education, and other fields. All end in the same ever-growing collectivization of every area of American life. The Farmers Union is in favor of a grand farmer-labor political movement, which will carry on parallel programs in farm and urban areas. It is slowly extending its political power over the formerly solidly Republican free-enterprise farm belt of the Northern Great Plains. It is working for the election of obedient Congressmen in its area as COPE does in industrial districts.

Southern Democratic Congressmen in general voted for farm supports. Why?

More Southern than Northern farm products benefit by supports—cotton, tobacco, rice. There is a reason for this. When Franklin D. Roosevelt tried to "purge" the Congressmen who opposed the New Deal, in the 1938 elections, he was defeated. But he won the last round. He asked himself how to make Southern Congressmen more amenable without showing his hand. He decided to increase farm price supports.

The huge price supports for a few Southern crops did not help the economy of the South as a whole. They benefitted a small group of owners of farm lands. Tobacco land worth only $100 an acre for its production may be worth $2,000 an acre, if it has a tobacco allotment certificate attached to it. Government support prices raised the capital value and sale price of the farm for the owner of the moment. All subsequent buyers have to pay higher prices for the land, and try to earn more out of it by harder work. The losers are the young men who want to buy or rent their own farms and become independent.

Politically, the Southern Congressmen who vote for high farm supports are also betraying their constituents. Those who voted for bigger Federal hand-outs forget that states' rights are indivisible. If the Federal government sends in its emissaries to bring checks and control farm production and marketing, in a few years it will be very hard to keep them from sending in their political organizers, or even sending in the United States Army to enforce domestic law.

The farm program has failed. It has been repudiated by most important farm areas and organizations. It survives by the votes of Democratic Congressmen from the Big Cities who betray their constituents at the behest of the pressure groups, by the Democrats from the South who have forgotten their constituents, and by a small but rapidly growing group of Congressmen from farm areas controlled by the Farmers Union in the interests of farmer-labor collectivist political action.

This analysis of the political forces which shape congressional support for high farm price supports sheds light on the Democratic party's new farm program.

Senator Kennedy has voted consistently for measures advocated by the pressure groups. Senator Johnson's voting record is very similar. He is a representative of the New Deal penetration of the old-line Democratic party in the South. The farm program offered by them to the voters calls for still more spending and still more controls.

The key to the Democratic farm program is that the government is to guarantee not only farm prices but farm income. Can you imagine the new heights to which government will have to carry its controls over farm production, prices and marketing?

Under the Kennedy-Johnson farm program, every farm and farm building in the US would have to be "evaluated" before anything could be done about "income." A politically-appointed committee would visit every farm in each county. It would appraise land, buildings, equipment and animals. A four per cent return would be set on this "value." Then the labor of the farmer and his wife and children would be evaluated at $100 a week apiece. When all the appraisals had been finished, the total would make up the "fair" income for the farm, the sum which the government is to guarantee. The total for all farms will be the national farm income which the government promises to provide. The prices of all farm commodities—and there are hundreds—would then have to be set by government officials at the point where they hoped the return would be what they counted on. Then the controls would be put on, to make sure no one produced too much, or sold too much or accepted a lower price.

What if all these controls don't give the promised income? Presumably the government will just mail each farmer a check for the difference. It can always take the check out of your income tax.

THE KENNEDY FARM PLAN will raise all farm income—and certainly pay it in inflated dollars. But it will also freeze the status quo. The rate of improvement in American farming has been phenomenal during all the last century or more—due to the skill of American farmers and industrialists working in freedom. That will come to a dead stop in the Great Freeze.

Suppose the American government had stepped in 50 years ago, and "guaranteed" a "fair" income to farmers, stopping all progress as part of the controls. Suppose it had stepped in at the end of World War I. Where would our food and agricultural fibers and oils have come from?

The Communists are rubbing their hands in glee as they contemplate the future. They see emerging a neo-feudal system of agriculture in America which can be depended upon to bring an explosion. Comes the Revolution—they will make it their kind of Revolution.

Those who claim to be the Friends of the Poor—making the biggest Promises in catering to the ignorant, the gullible and the greedy—are the real Enemies of the Poor.

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The seven bills below are those from which the conclusions in this study are made.

While a "wrong" vote may be plausibly defended on a single bill, a Big City Congressman who casts a majority of "wrong" votes can successfully be charged with betraying his constituents.

1. ROLL CALL 28 (1958)

March 20, 1958. Americans for Constitutional Action No. 30. S.J. Res. 162, vote on resolution to prevent any reduction in support prices and acreage allotments (freeze existing levels for marketing year beginning in 1958). ACA position: NAY. American Farm Bureau Federation position: NAY. A NAY vote supported the President.

Agreed to: 211-172. Twenty-five Big City Democrats voted YEA with 2 paired YEA. THEY WERE THE BALANCE OF POWER. Total Party Vote: Democrats 167-31, Republicans 44-141.

2. ROLL CALL 107 (1958)

June 26, 1958. ACA No. 28. Vote on H. Res. 609, to permit House to consider H.R. 12954, omnibus farm bill which included a large number of various price support and control programs for agricultural commodities. ACA position: NAY. A NAY vote supported the President. The measure was rejected: 171-214. Twenty-two Big City Democrats voted YEA with one paired YEA. Total Party Vote: Democrats 150-52, Republicans 21-162.

3. ROLL CALL 157 (1958)

August 6, 1958. ACA No. 24. S. 4071, farm bill. Vote on substitute bill which raised support prices for various agricultural commodities over those approved by Senate. ACA position: NAY. The President did not take a position on this measure.

The measure was rejected: 210-186 (two-thirds majority required under suspension of the rules). Thirty-one Big City Democrats voted YEA, with three paired YEA. HAD FEWER THAN HALF OF THOSE VOTING YEA VOTED THE OPPOSITE WAY, THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN A MAJORITY VOTE AGAINST THE MEASURE. Total Party Vote: Democrats 172-38, Republicans 38-148.

4. ROLL CALL 78 (1959)

June 12, 1959. ACA No 12. H.R. 7246, wheat bill. Vote on Belcher (R.-Okla.) motion to recommit bill in order to substitute flexible price supports for provisions in bill increasing wheat price supports to 90 per cent of parity. ACA position: YEA.

The measure was rejected: 141-224. Twenty-seven Big City Democrats voted NAY with eleven paired NAY. The motion to recommit would still have failed if these members had voted solidly for it; in fact, had the eleven who were paired NAY joined them in voting YEA, the vote would have been close, 179-186; the burden would have been on the farm bloc on that close a vote. Total Party Vote: Democrats 28-211, Republicans 113-13.

5. ROLL CALL 79 (1959)

June 12, 1959. H.R. 7246, to provide wheat price supports for 1960 and 1961 at 90 per cent of parity, together with a 25 per cent cut in individual farm acreage allotments. AFBF position: NAY.

The bill was passed: 189-177. Twenty-one Big City Democrats voted YEA, with eleven paired YEA. A shift of seven votes would have reversed the result. While none of the New York City delegation voted for the bill, NINE OF THEM WERE PAIRED FOR IT. HAD SEVEN OF THEM BEEN PRESENT AND VOTED THE OTHER WAY, THE BILL WOULD HAVE BEEN DEFEATED. Total Party Vote: Democrats 177-63, Republicans 12-114.

6. ROLL CALL 91 (1959)

June 18, 1959. ACA No. 11. S. 1968, Wheat Act of 1959. Vote on adoption of conference report providing for wheat price supports at 80 per cent of parity and a 20 per cent reduction in acreage allotments. ACA position: NAY.

The bill failed to pass: 202-214. Twenty-six Big City Democrats voted YEA with one paired YEA. Total Party Vote: Democrats 195-71, Republicans 7-143.

7. ROLL CALL 145 (1960)

June 23, 1960. H.R. 12261, which included a wheat plan giving growers a vote on a choice of: (1) An increase in wheat price supports from 75 per cent to 85 per cent of parity; a 25 per cent cut in wheat acreage; payments in kind to farmers of government surplus wheat equal to 55 per cent of the wheat that would have been grown on the land taken out of wheat production. (2) Ending government controls on wheat production and reducing wheat price supports to about 60 per cent of parity in 1961 and to 50 per cent thereafter.

The bill also included a program for feed grains and aimed at less production and higher price supports and a plan for expansion of distribution of poultry, dairy and meat products to school children and the needy. AFBF position: NAY.

The bill failed to pass: 171-236. Twenty-two Big City Democrats voted YEA, with five paired YEA. Total Party Vote: Democrats 162-100, Republicans 9-136.

The total vote (not counting pairs) on these seven measures was: Democrats 383 Right and 1234 Wrong (24% Right), Republicans 957 Right and 144 Wrong (87% Right).

Here is the voting record of the 32 Big City Congressmen who voted *against the welfare of their constituents. Each bill is explained in* columns above.

Voted Right +; Voted Wrong −; Paired Right p+; Paired Wrong p−; Not Recorded O

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	+	−	%
Doyle	LA	O	+	−	−	−	−	−	1	5	17
Holifield	LA	O	+	+	−	−	−	−	2	4	33
Kasem	LA				−	−	O	−	O	3	O
King	LA	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	7	O
Roosevelt	LA	−	p+	−	−	−	−	−	1	6	14
Shelley	SF	O	+	−	p−	p−	−	+	2	4	33
Dawson	Chi	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	7	O
Kluczynski	Chi	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	2	5	29
Libonati	Chi	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	1	6	14
O'Brien	Chi	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	1	6	14
O'Hara	Chi	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	1	6	14
Madden	Gary	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	1	6	14
McCormack	Bos	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	7	O
Diggs	Det	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	7	O
Dingell	Det	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	6	O
Griffiths	Det	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	1	6	14
Lesinski	Det	−	−	p−	−	−	−	−	O	7	O
Machrowicz	Det	−	−	p−	−	−	−	−	O	7	O
Rabaut	Det	−	−	−	p−	p−	p−	−	O	7	O
Anfuso	NY	−	−	−	p−	p−	−	p−	O	7	O
Buckley	NY	p−	p−	p−	p−	p−	−	p−	O	7	O
Celler	NY	−	+	−	p−	p−	−	+	2	5	29
Healey	NY	−	+	−	p+	p+	−	p−	3	4	43
Keogh	NY	−	−	−	p−	p−	−	p−	O	7	O
Multer	NY	−	−	−	p−	p−	−	p−	O	7	O
Santangelo	NY	−	−	−	p−	p−	−	−	O	7	O
Teller	NY	−	+	−	p−	p−	−	−	1	6	14
Zelenko	NY	−	+	−	p−	p−	+	+	3	4	43
Holland	Pgh	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	6	O
Moorhead	Pgh				−	−	−	−	O	4	O
Reuss	Mil	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	1	6	14
Zablocki	Mil	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	2	5	29

Blank spaces indicate that individual was not a Member at time of vote.

Abbreviations for Cities:

LA ..... Los Angeles
Chi ..... Chicago
Det ..... Detroit
NY ..... New York
Pgh ..... Pittsburgh
Mil ..... Milwaukee
SF ..... San Francisco

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HUMAN EVENTS
--- COMMENTARY

Yes, money is the cure for all the problems of the Congo; like giving it to a juvenile delinquent, that is.

—CINCINNATI ENQUIRER

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How Labor Campaigns For Kennedy In Texas

This column by Victor Riesel describes the forces seeking the defeat of all conservative Congressmen, and in particular, Bruce Alger, the 100 per cent conservative Republican who represents Dallas in the House of Representatives.

By Victor Riesel

To this Texas stranger it appears that John Kennedy can take the state only if the quiet perpetual political motion of several unions achieves their objective. What labor wants to deliver to the ticket of "JFK and LBJ" is about 125,000 voters who went for President Eisenhower four years ago.

This, the labor leaders and their Democratic Party partners believe, should swing the state. The President carried it by 220,000 votes last time. Not even the Republicans expect Richard Nixon to come near Mr. Eisenhower's popular pull. So the labor drive is to cut the GOP margin in half.

Had they done that in '56, they'd have kept Texas "regular." They didn't because they reckon a good many of their 500,000 to 600,000 AFL-CIO members went for the President. Now the objective is to keep their followers tight on the Democratic line.

Much of the precinct pounding is being done by the Auto Workers Union whose president is Walter Reuther. The Detroit union chief, who at this writing has been campaigning so hard he worked himself into the hospital with a bad throat, promised Lyndon Johnson personally he'd deliver. And he is trying.

This happened one Thursday back in mid-August. Reuther was in Jack Kennedy's senatorial office discussing the congressional session. Johnson, unaware that Reuther was with the front runner, walked in. Not wishing to intrude the Texan said to the union leader, drop in on me before you leave.

Reuther did—and promised that he would urge his people everywhere to work this time as never before. Not long after that, even the most militant of unions began talking of "Kennedy and Johnson" instead of just the top of the ticket.

Kennedy's opponents here are, therefore, running just as hard against Reuther as they are against the Massachusetts Senator. But there are other active unions—the Steel Workers of Dave McDonald, the Machinists of Al Hayes and some of the Construction Trades.

Texas labor doesn't beat the drums as the unions do up north. Here they are quiet men for many reasons. This is the only state which ever was an independent republic. They don't like to get pushed around and that's the understatement of the century. Labor knows it and doesn't want to give the impression of an invasion.

'HOLY SMOKE!'

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Typical was labor's preparation for John Kennedy's mid-September sortie here. The unions wanted big crowds to greet him and fill the 10,000-seat Dallas Memorial Auditorium.

They and the Democrats swiftly compiled lists of rank-and-filers. The lists were typed, handwritten, scrawled—anything to put names down on paper. The little rosters were distributed to union men and women who took them home and hit the phones. Thousands of calls were made.

Some I spoke to received five and six calls because of duplications. The crowds roared that day and some 9,500 filled the house. This could not have been done over the five or six phones then available in party headquarters.

Thus it will go right through to ballot time. Towards the end of October, the International Association of Machinists will run a victory dinner in a local hotel. Ten dollars a plate and a speech by Senator Estes Kefauver.

They're working hard, these unions, unlike others in the rest of the West and Southwest. A survey shows that of the entire area only Texas, California, Montana and some sections of Oregon are pitching for the national Democratic ticket. No one really seems to know why there's been so little follow through on the actual endorsements.

That's why the Texas labor story is the vital one in this part of the nation. A mighty big 24 electoral votes hang on it.

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Will Teamsters Win Farmers?

From the Chicago Daily News

The initial success of Jimmy Hoffa as a labor leader was as an organizer of produce handlers. Then 19, he was employed at a Detroit warehouse. When a big load of highly perishable strawberries arrived, Jimmy called a strike, and nobody dared to move the berries. He won.

However much that might resemble blackmail, the proper name for it is "collective bargaining."

Now president of the Teamsters Union, Hoffa is presently engaged in organizing farmers. Several delegations from different states are meeting with him in Chicago.

Negotiating With Hunger

Just how Hoffa's tactics would be applied to "collective bargaining" by organized farmers is not immediately clear. But if Jimmy can manage it, the country will some day be faced with the alternative of giving his union farmers what they want or going hungry.

We don't believe Jimmy can manage it, but sometimes we wonder if the country would elect to starve, tearfully but quietly, rather than interfere with what Hoffa is pleased to call "collective bargaining."

Encroachment

From the Indianapolis Star

"Since the general civilization of mankind, I believe there are more instances of the abridgement of the freedom of the people by gradual and silent encroachments of those in power than by violent and sudden usurpations." James Madison, speaking to the Virginia Convention in 1788.

G-E Thwarts Strike Leader By Keeping Plants Running

Not a single toaster, not a single Polaris missile is going to be produced until General-Electric meets our terms, shouts Jim Carey, boss of the International Union of Radio Workers and Sound Machine Workers, striking against G-E.

Carey said a year ago: "I owe G-E a strike . . . if the offer was good, I still would not accept it."

Carey's union represents 70,000 out of G-E's 240,000 workers. He has agreements with 55 out of G-E's 166 plants.

A Corporation First

Preparing for the strike, G-E announced it would continue to operate the plants against which a strike might be called. This is the first time a major industrial corporation has attempted to carry out such a promise.

Several years ago, G-E, under Vice President Lemuel Boulware, began operating under a labor relations policy sharply differing from traditional employment practices. Most employers are fearful of antagonizing union leaders. They do all their talking to these leaders and let the latter talk to the union workers. The labor bosses can go the limit in making bitter class-hatred remarks in their press releases about the employers. The employers dare not respond in kind.

G-E Lets Workers Know

General-Electric policy, on the other hand, is to tell the union leaders what it will immediately afterwards tell its workers in full-page advertisements and in letters sent direct to workers' homes.

The next G-E policy is to make its best and final offer first and then stick to it.

The normal employer policy is to make a small offer first and then, as bargaining proceeds, keep raising it until the two parties are in agreement.

G-E will revise its offer only to exchange one item for another, the cost not to be raised by the modification. Another difference: G-E refuses to agree that, after the contract expiration, any agreement shall be retroactive, the bargaining to continue and the plants to continue working. Under this plan, the union leaders have nothing to lose no matter how long the bargaining takes. They can therefore hold out to the last penny they think they can get.

G-E wants its workers to know that the longer the bargaining takes, the longer the period under which they will be paid at the old rates.

Weak Little Man

Carey idolizes Walter Reuther and imitates all of Reuther's little idiosyncrasies, but he is actually regarded in labor circles as a weak, insecure little man. One of the reasons G-E may be willing to make concessions is because they'd rather keep Jim Carey in the driver's seat than have him supplanted by someone much more able.

In recent negotiating sessions, in the presence of members of his own union, representatives of the Federal Mediation Service and members of General Electrict's bargaining team, James B. Carey, President of the IUE, has had these things to say about law and order (as recorded in the minutes of these meetings):

Carey Quotes

(1) "You have no right to keep the plants open during a strike. If you do, we'll give you what we call therapy."

(2) "I hope that if anyone gets hurt in the blood bath that it is one of the management."

(3) "The law doesn't provide for keeping plants open when there is no contract."

What is the law, insofar as the rights of employers, employees and unions are concerned? Here is a statement made by Ohio Judge John C. Carroll in granting a temporary injunction against mass picketing in one of the strike cities:

How the Court Ruled

(1) "It is a constitutional right of an employer to keep the plant open and permit those employees who want to work to do so."

(2) "The Court recognizes the right of the union to picket peacefully; the Court also recognizes the right of the manufacturer to keep his plants open; and the Court also recognizes the third right, that of the employees to go to work, if they so wish."

Workers Kill Goose, Demand Golden Egg

From the Memphis Commercial Appeal

A strike has been called against a manufacturing company in Chicago because the firm's officials announced there would be no more free turkeys at Thanksgiving and no $50 bonuses at Christmas. The strike was the first in the 62 years of the company's existence.

The president of the company said it has been decided to suspend the free gifts because the demands of the union for wages and contract terms had virtually all been granted. The turkeys and the bonuses were not part of the contract but had been given employees for 15 years or more as a good-will gesture.

The strikers are apparently arguing that they can have their cake and eat it, too. The system under which any considerable measure of paternalism was possible has been outmoded and discarded in a great many instances at the express demand of the unions. The workers will just have to realize that you can't have it both ways these days and times.

English, Anyone?

It was Sputnik, Lunik, and various other Soviet wonders that set everybody to studying Russian. Now that the United States has performed even more spectacular feats, all in the space of a single day, optimistic observers are hoping for a renewed interest in the study of English. —*Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*

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Kennedy Echoes Labor's Plaints

From the Indianapolis News

Senator Kennedy has given the voting public to understand that, as President, he would be under no obligation to the Pope in the exercise of statecraft. Americans possessing normal intelligence and hearts free of bigotry take his word for that.

Tell Us, Jack

We now would like to hear Senator Kennedy tell how he would be under no obligation to Walter Reuther of the United Auto Workers and David J. McDonald of the United Steelworkers, the most powerful union bosses in America.

It is easy, and perhaps politically profitable, for Kennedy to flaunt the obvious fact that an American President who worships in a Roman Catholic church would not be directed by the Vatican in his constitutional duties.

His Debt to Labor

It is another thing for a politician who owes his nomination—and possibly his chances for election—to Reuther, McDonald & Co. to make a solemn pledge that he will do things they don't want done.

For example: Kennedy is an artful dodger in discussing the right-to-work issue. Where he thinks it might lose him votes to come out for the Democratic platform plank to destroy all right-to-work laws, he ducks. He conveniently ignores the fact that he actively pushed a bill in 1955 which would have eliminated Section 14-b of the Taft-Hartley Act. It is this section that enables states to enact right-to-work laws.

Little Sir Echo

Meanwhile, he goes around echoing Walter Reuther's plaints about foreign manufacturing competition and sounding like a leftover from the old high-tariff days.

Kennedy remains faithfully Walter's, just as he was in the famous Senate hearings when he bravely tore into the Teamsters but helped brother Bobby frustrate every effort to investigate CIO abuses.

Goldwater Speaks

Senator Goldwater (R.-Ariz.), keynoting the Utah GOP convention recently, said: "This is a year when you have to forget whether you are a liberal Republican or a conservative Republican and vote Republican."

"This is a time for Americans," he said, "not for party."

Goldwater drew a whistling, standing ovation from the more than 1,000 in the convention hall.

Immaturity and Coming of Age

From the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin

The new nations of Africa want as much help as they can get, but are very touchy about having any strings attached to the money. The man next door says it reminds him of himself when he reached the age of 21. He not only wanted a raise in his allowance. He also put in for a latch key, and no questions asked, or answered, no matter what time he came in.

'Crowdsmanship' and Elections

By Raymond Moley

Perhaps the incredibly rapid hopping of candidates from city to city and state to state is responsible for the failure of reporters to tell us what they are saying. Thus, we have accounts in which nothing is reported but estimates of the size of the crowds. This is "crowdsmanship."

Estimates Can Be Funny

It is well known by veterans in newspapering that even police reports of crowds are but the vaguest guesses. On one occasion two police estimates of crowds at an event in Chicago differed so widely that the report was a standing joke for years.

A crowd gathers because something unusual has happened or is happening. The sure lure is a fight or an accident or a fire. Or a celebrity such as a movie star or Casey Stengel or Floyd Patterson. Or some of the international heads of state who have been clogging New York's streets these past few weeks.

Unknowns Attract Crowds

Statesmen are commonplace in Washington and attract little attention. But a noted political figure who is not known to a specific locality brings out the crowds. In 1928, Governor Alfred E. Smith was not well known outside New York except through the newspapers. But he was interesting and unusual on the national scene. He was a born actor with inimitable mannerisms which he could effectively project. He had the crowds that year. Herbert Hoover was not new to the country and his drawing power in the streets was negligible. But he got the votes in November.

Timing Is Important

Crowds are also assembled by organized effort. An efficient political machine can produce a crowd by orders from the boss to the ward and district leaders. Or a candidate can get crowds merely by selecting the hours when people are in the streets every day.

Only the naive are deceived by public curiosity. A certain statesman who, after his defeat for high office, still believed that he was a popular idol was being interviewed by Kyle Palmer, the shrewd and experienced political editor of the Los Angeles *Times*. The fading statesman said, *"If I went down to that stand in the street to buy a cigar, I would draw a crowd." Palmer answered, "So would a man with six fingers on one hand."*

When Lady Godiva, to secure from her husband, the Lord of Coventry, the promise to ease the taxes on the poor, clad only in her long tresses, rode her horse through the streets, the husband used his power to keep the people indoors. Ony one man appeared, and he lives in doubtful fame as "Peeping Tom." But the exploit still attracts attention, and the statue of the nude on horseback graces the public square of Coventry.

Kennedy Has Psychologist

Candidate Kennedy, to make sure that nothing is missing, has added a psychologist to his large staff of image-makers, economists, and historians. His specialty seems not only to be the counting of crowds, but, by peering into faces, measuring "scientifically" their degree of enthusiasm. He is from the faculty of the University of California. He measures the effect of specific Kennedy words and phrases on crowd temperature.

A Scientific Extreme

This indeed, is "scientism" carried to an extreme degree. He should have been on the job when Huey Long was talking to the "wool hats." There he could really have gotten material for a sizeable volume. Huey was no scientist, but he knew how to fetch 'em.

All this is what might be called the "feedback" habit which has become so prominent in public affairs these days. It is intelligently excoriated in Jacques Barzun's fine book, "The House of Intellect."

Promise Them Anything

Leadership was sunk into "followship." Take a poll, and follow the lead of what people think they think. Never tell them what they need. Find out what they want, and then promise it.

Millions talk about politics these days, but usually in terms of amateur appraisals of what effect this or that has upon whom. But what they should consider is the choice of candidates and issues. Anybody can guess about crowd reactions, even professors.

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Modern 'Liberals' Are Reactionaries

By Senator Barry Goldwater

One of the hallmarks of the radical liberal is constant condemnation of things as they are. Coupled with this criticism we find the bold, confident assertion that the "liberal program" is the only cure for those deficiencies which concern all of us.

The radical liberals see men as a reflection of government—shaped and influenced by government policy, inspired, controlled and directed by the new elite, by the S.S. of the enlightened liberal leaders.

All Fall Short

In all our history no society has ever achieved all that it desired to achieve for its members. Governments, being man-made organizations, likewise fall short of perfection.

The liberal, noting the failures in society and the failures in government, invariably seeks ways to compel society and to compel governments to improve.

It is precisely here that the modern liberal denies the historical definition of liberalism and reveals himself as an arch reactionary.

Search for Freedom

The history of man's forward struggle on this earth is a long and agonizing record of man's search for freedom. The endless chain of tyrannies, which have hindered man in his out-reach for freedom, appear in two forms: the tyranny of society where caste systems are exalted and the tyranny of unlimited government.

Today's reactionaries, masquerading as liberals, don't announce their true intention which is to compel society to conform to their idea of a good society or to alter government to meet their conception of an efficient government. They always begin their pitch by calling attention to one or more particular failures in the world of things as they are. Thus they enlist the sympathetic support of many unthinking people.

Professor Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., who is one of Democratic Presidential nominee John Kennedy's closest advisers, articulates the liberal position in a little pamphlet entitled "The Big Decision" which he intended for private circulation.

Liberal Trick

In developing his thesis that big government must collect $10 to $12 billions more in taxes than it now collects and spend this on public services, Professor Schlesinger resorts to the common trick of all liberals: condemnation.

Schlesinger refers to "the American paradox of public poverty in the midst of private plenty," and then he asks this question: "Do we need an educational system worthy of our children?" (Who would answer "no" to such a question?) Then he goes on to state: "The Eisenhower-Nixon Administration tells us that we can't afford to invest more of our resources in schools."

The Eisenhower-Nixon Administration has never presumed to tell the American public we could not afford to spend more money on schools. Those of us who oppose federal aid to education oppose it not on the grounds that it would cost more money, but rather on the easily established truth that federal aid to education would bring federal bureaucratic control.

Flemming Wants Aid

In my presence, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Flemming insisted that unless we adopted a sizeable program of federal aid to education, we would be abandoning school districts in this nation which could not afford to provide adequate educational facilities. Secretary Flemming implied that a vast number of the school districts in this country have exhausted their own resources and unless federal aid was forthcoming, would be unable to provide for the students in their districts.

Statistics Unconvincing

The Secretary was asked in my presence how many school districts in the nation had reached the legal limit of their bonding capacity. His answer was, "About 200." This is 200 out of some 47,000.

Yet on this pretext Mr. Schlesinger and his fellow reactionaries seek to establish the federal tyranny of the purse over all the independent school districts in the nation. How do you stand, Sir?

In Britain

Laborites Risk Political Suicide By Call for Total Disarmament

From the Chicago Tribune

The British Labor party, in its annual convention, voted for a policy of unilateral disarmament on the part of Britain and the renunciation of nuclear weapons, alliance with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and dependence upon American forces based in Britain for a nuclear deterrent against communist imperialism.

Unions Swung Vote

The vote mustered by the left wing leaders of the trade unions cut the party adrift from its parliamentary leader, Hugh Gaitskell, and effectively split the party down the middle. The votes for the one-sided disarmament came from the unions which provide the mass base for the party. Most of the Labor members of parliament support Gaitskell; that is, those who must carry out party policy are now under a command to pursue principles that most of them regard as suicidal.

Gaitskell Refutes Policy

Gaitskell made a forceful speech refusing to accept the policy which the rank and file sought to thrust upon him. He said he and those who support him in the Labor opposition in parliament would resist the decision of the convention with every force at their command. He said that it was no better than a death wish that the party majority should seek repudiation of Britain's commitments to the United States and its allies and adopt a policy which, by stripping the nation of its defenses, would leave Britain defenseless and alone.

"Do you think," he demanded, "that we can change our minds and overnight become the pacifists, neutralists, and fellow travelers others are? How wrong can you be?

Invitation to Communism

The misguided majority sentiment among the Socialists is but one further symptom of the rapid degeneration of a party which governed Britain for six years after the end of World War II but has become progressively discredited since the Conservatives won in 1951. The party's old goals of the nationalization of industry and social leveling according to the Marxian prescription have already been tacitly abandoned because they were demonstrated in practice to be failures. Now the only string left to the socialist bow is to proclaim a doctrine inviting Soviet communism to take over England.

Party of Surrender

There is not a politician in the party who does not know that every Englishman except the leftist appeasers and the thoroughgoing believers in nonresistance would disown a party which presented a platform of that kind to the nation. Even if the Gaitskell forces succeed in reversing what has now been done, the party has marked itself for good and all as the apostle of surrender to communism. Because that policy can never be foisted upon the British people, it will not lead to the suicide of Britain, but it could easily bring about the demise of the Labor party itself.

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